

or to our own Government in particular. (Cheers and laughter.) But there are things which individuals cannot do for themselves and which, therefore, are the very objects which it is the duty of Government to do for them. So it is in other respects. If an individual cannot protect himself against assault and violence, the Government must protect him. If individuals cannot do it for themselves a market, Government must do it for them—the general agency of society must be called in. The whole theory of Government, if we separate it from divine right, if we consider it as existing for the good of the governed, implies that Government is to do for individuals what individuals cannot do for themselves. Now there are things which individuals cannot do for themselves, for they require the contributions of many; they require arrangement, system, regulation, assessments, administration. And what are they?

In the first place, so far, (and I wish to speak of it no farther), so far as the interest of Agriculture is concerned, its first demand on Government is, after that Protection, (I do not use the word in a political sense), after that protection of the law which secures to every man the earnings of his own labor—after this the duty of Government to Agriculture is to give an easy transmission of its products to the place of sale and consumption; because, in our climate—in any climate—human life, if we carry our ideas beyond mere necessity, calls for things, the products of other climates, the fruits of the labor of other persons in other parts of the world; and therefore there is always a necessity for commercial exchange, for disposing of the surplus productions of one climate for those of another and thus to become possessed of what are commonly regarded as the luxuries of life, but which are its comforts, and which are the products of the labor of different quarters. Therefore one great object and duty of Government is to see that the products of the farmer may be easily and speedily transported to the place of consumption or sale. I need not say, gentlemen, that you in Western New York are striking, and I doubt not a grateful example of the excellent system of laws and policy which has prevailed in your State, and given you an easy transmission for the products of your rich soil and industrious labor to a place of sale or consumption, (cheers.)—Who is there here now that does not feel the beneficence, the wisdom, the patriotism of CLINTON and the other projectors of your vast internal improvements? (loud cheers.) Party violence or party injustice may do him a time, and prejudice may injure, and malignity may rail; but there cannot be, I am sure there is not—an honest man in all Western New-York, on whose heart the memory of CLINTON is not indelibly engraved! (Enthusiastic applause and cheers.) Gentlemen, in this respect, your position enables you beyond anything on the face of the earth. New-York city has been brought very near your doors. The great Emporium of this great continent lies close before you. You are rich in your home market—a market of purchase and of sale. All New York is at your feet. You can deal with her as if you lived in one of her wards—I mean for all the purposes of commerce.

And, gentlemen, if I might contemplate a condition of society in which, with regard to the discharge of all great duties, nothing was left to be desired, I should look at Western New-York, with her favored climate and fertile fields, with those improvements she has completed and those others which she contemplates, an object of interest not only to all the States of this great Union, but to the feelings and hopes and highest aspirations of every man. As an American, with pride would I look upon these great works commenced, completed and to be completed, all existing in fullness and perfection that the world may see what a Republican government, wise in its councils, liberal in its policy, can do for the advancement of the great interests of Society. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, the farmers of New-York have no just reason to envy those who live amid the coffee fields, the sugar canes, the orange groves, the palm trees, and coconuts, and the pine-apples of the tropics—Far otherwise. His wheat fields, his grass fields, his herds and flocks, and his forests, are infinitely richer.

Gentlemen, there is another great object which properly falls to the care of government, of interest to all tillers of the land who have an easy and cheap transmission to market—it is, of course, the existence of such markets. There must be markets of sale, of consumption. Why will a man toil to fill his granaries and cellars beyond the wants of his own family, unless somebody will buy the surplus which he has to sell, and by means of which, therefore, he may be able to buy elsewhere what he cannot raise upon his own farm? A market, therefore, a market of consumption, is a paramount object to all agriculturalists who cultivate rich soils, beneath kindly skies and a warming sun, and who raise more than is necessary in order to the sustentation of life. It is absolutely indispensable. I do not say that it is entirely within the control of government. I know that it is not. There are many considerations which effect the market, such as the policy of other nations, the course of trade, the condition of Society and a thousand other causes which modify all government. But, after all, it is and must be a great object of government. Looking only at the question as a political question (and God forbid that I should use the word 'political' in a party sense) it is certainly a matter of interesting inquiry where the surplus productions of labor shall find a sale. This is a matter for government in an enlarged political, philosophic, and I may say, philanthropic, consideration of its duties. A good government seeks to promote the interest of all citizens, of all vocations. I have said that to this object a market is necessary. What is it to you that your fields here in the Genesee Valley abound in the richest wheat, I believe, on the face of the Earth—what is it to you, beyond the consumption of your own households, if there is no demand, no market for it? The means of transportation may exist—but at the end of all must also be a market.

How is this to be had? Without to-night entering upon any debatable ground of politics, upon anything that does not partake of elementary truth—and I say it under the conviction that it is a matter of elementary truth—to which every true American citizen who will not give way to names, but thinks that there is something in things, I say that it is the duty of Government, to a considerable extent, to take care that there should be a demand for Agricultural products. (Cheers.) I am not about, gentlemen, to enter upon the question—the debatable subject—of a Protective Tariff, to any considerable extent. But I, nevertheless, do say—at least I do think—and why should I not say it?—(Cheers, and cries of 'say it,' 'out with it,' 'go on.'—I do say, gentlemen, that the Agriculture of this Country is the great matter which demands Protection. It is a misnomer to talk about the Protection of Manufactures; that is not the thing we want or need: it is the Protection of the Agriculture of the Country! (Repeated cheers.) It is a furnishing to the surplus productions of that Agriculture a market, a near market, a home market, a large market! (Cheers, and cries of 'That's it,' 'that's what we want.' Why, gentlemen, many of my friends and neighbors in my own State have invested their capital in Manufactures. Of course they desire employment in this branch of industry. But suppose they do not get it; can not they turn their capital into other channels, into a thousand other pursuits to-morrow? Are they shut out from all other ways of living? Do you suppose that the Protection of this interest is as important to them as it is to you? Is it as essential, as absolutely necessary, to their interests as to yours? Not by ten thousand times! You want a market for your productions. You want consumers. You want open mouths and unclad bodies to eat and drink and wear the surplus productions you have provided for them!

You want a home market, a steady demand for your Agricultural products. And this is, and must be, furnished by the Commercial classes, the sea-faring classes and all other classes of non-producers. Now, gentlemen, I certainly admit that those who have invested their capital in Manufactures have a great interest at stake, and it is just that they should have secured by law a reasonable protection to that interest. But I do also insist, in spite of all the sophistry and all the folly (as I must call it), of this age—and this age is full of sophistry and folly on this subject, that the great thing to be looked for is that we have at home a demand for the surplus products of our Agriculture, and, on the other side, a home demand for the products of Manufacturing industry. (Cheers.) This neighborly exchange it is, this neighborly intercourse among ourselves—in supplying our own wants from city to city, from village to village, from house to house, this it is which is calculated to make us a happy and a strong people. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Now, there is on this subject, especially among our brethren at the South, a strange infatuation. They are respectable men—reasonable men—candid men, in some respects—in most respects: and yet how they reason upon this subject! Gentlemen, I belong to Massachusetts. (Applause.) Cries of 'Good,' and three deafening cheers for Massachusetts! I have taken the pains to inquire what sum of money Massachusetts pays to Virginia and Carolina, to say nothing of New-York, every year for their agricultural products; and it amounts to several millions. If we take the Eastern part of Virginia and the Eastern part of North Carolina, what have they for sale but agricultural products purchased by the manufacturing and commercial classes of New-England? Nothing on the face of the earth—and we pay them many millions. We are their only customers. Does England take their grain? Certainly not; and yet, owing to causes which it would be easy to explain if it were proper, owing to prejudice, owing to their peculiar notions—for notions are quite as common there as in New-England, though New-England is the 'land of notions'! (Laughter and cheers)—there is a perfect reprobation of any idea of protection giving them any sale for their agricultural products, although they find, day by day, that we buy and pay them for their products by manufactures of the North—and it is the only thing they get a dollar for; and are ready to drive us into raising Corn and all agricultural products for ourselves—they being agricultural, and finding the article continually becoming cheaper, and no persons except us to buy of them! (Cheers.) Now that's a strong case—though perfectly true of Eastern Virginia and of North Carolina. Why, gentlemen, I live on the sandy sea-shore of Massachusetts, and I get along as well as I can. I am a very poor farmer upon a great quantity of very poor land. I have my neighbors and I, by very great care. We pay for what we purchase—though, for my life, I could hardly tell how; this only I know, they all get paid in some way. And yet these men complain that we do not raise what we want ourselves but buy of them! There seems to be much truth in an old saying, that 'Maxims which have a seeming sense take firmer hold, and endure longer in the mind, than those which are founded on nature and experience.' Men like dogmas: they like theory. If they can pick up or scrape together a string of apophthegms or enigmas—the fact and truth and all the human talent in the world can never argue them out of them.—Equal delusions prevail in other parts of the country, as, for instance, the notion that Protection to manufactures is a thing peculiarly beneficial to those engaged in those pursuits. Far from it. As I have said, the capital of Massachusetts can go to commerce, or can go to farming. But what can he do, whose farm is his sole estate, but till it? Can he transport it or go into other pursuits? The fact is, Protection to this class of society is, next to the beneficence of Heaven, whose sun shines and whose rains fall upon us, the highest object, the most absolute necessity to those who cultivate the land, and raise from it more than suffices for the wants of themselves and their families. (Cheers.)

Now, gentlemen, we are Americans. We have a vast country, a variety of climate, and various pursuits. We have agricultural States; and we have plantation States. We have manufacturing interests and commercial interests. And our business is not to array our various interests into a belligerent and hostile state, not to inflame our own passions or the passions of others concerning the measures of government for the protection of our particular interests;—but let us make the whole a great national, I may say, a family concern. We should aim not to produce the impression that one interest is set against another, but that we all go for those laws and measures which will be most conducive to the general good. We should remember that we are citizens of the United States; that as such we are interested in the United States and in every State,—that we are interested in the concerns of all classes and of every class; and I do firmly believe that moderation and wisdom and perseverance and truth and reason will ultimately prevail over all the influences which seem to separate the interests of one class from those of another. Why, what I have said in relation to the necessities or wants of Agriculture is strictly true with regard to our brethren of the South engaged in the Plantation interest. The first market for their cotton, and the best market, is with the Northern and New-England manufacturers of that article, and it is absolutely astonishing that this is not perceived. The North takes one-third of their cotton, and that the first third, and fixes the price; it is sold with small charge for freight and still brings a high price. And I say it is absolutely astonishing that those whose living depends on the production and sale of this article should not see to what an extent it depends upon the consumption and manufacture of the article in our own country. These truths—these elements of political economy are as true on the James River and in Alabama as here; and let popular prejudice become informed and kind feeling mark all discussions of the subject, and we shall come to see how much our happiness and honor depend upon a free and just and liberal intercourse among ourselves. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, I am too long in troubling you with these remarks. (Cries of go on.) I believe that they are founded in truth. I wish for everything which will promote the union of the American family. I wish for the prevalence of everything which shall make every man, from Maine to Georgia, feel that his interests are clearly bound up with those of every other man from Maine to Georgia. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, may I say, Sir (turning to the President), five words about myself? (Cheers and shouts of 'yes, fifty or five hundred.') It was under the full conviction of these truths, that, meeting a few months ago some intelligent friends from Baltimore, I alluded to our commercial relations—a subject to which I had devoted for two years the most anxious and painful labors of my whole life. (Some one cried out 'Three cheers for the Treaty,' and they were accordingly given with great enthusiasm.) I assure you, gentlemen, that, although friendly to all treaties of peace, nothing was farther from my mind at this moment than the treaty recently concluded with Great Britain. I mean our commercial relations; and if the time shall ever come when we can for a little while forget our parties, and attend to things instead of names—if the time shall ever arrive when there shall be a business party in the country—which I have a faint hope may sometime happen—God knows—(cheers and laughter)—we shall find that the subject of our commercial relations, as they have for several years past existed, and as they now exist, is highly interesting and of the utmost importance to every citizen of the country. But I propose only to say now, that having occasion, I spoke at Baltimore of the effect of an arrangement entered into very unfortunately many years ago, to the great detriment

of our navigation interests, as is now fully shown by the great progress which foreign shipping is making upon the shipping of the United States. It is most true that under existing acts the shipping of some of the small Northern States of Europe are thrusting themselves into branches of our trade to which they have no natural right, and would be encroaching upon our coasting trade were they not prevented by the absolute prohibition of law. I will only say to illustrate the matter, that between the great markets of the United States and the Empire of Brazil, where our commercial intercourse was most extensive, the nations of the North of Europe, Hamburg, Bremen, &c. under Reciprocity Treaties, as they are called, though there is any thing but reciprocity in them, carry on the trade to the exclusion of our own vessels. In this way, under treaty stipulations, our trade is drawn from us and we submit—and I have found it quite impossible to raise the country up to a sense of this great injury. I said at Baltimore that the time was coming, and perhaps now is, when, with regard to the great matter of commercial stipulations, some advisable arrangement might be made between us and some of the great States of Europe. I think so now. I do not retract at all. I am confident of its truth, and unless I mistake recent events give it additional evidence.

What I said was this: England excludes most of our agricultural productions—her Corn Laws exclude them: yet she is anxious to extend the intercourse between herself and us. The great power of steam has extinguished distance. England lies close to New-York. Twelve or thirteen days only make the communication. And it is of no consequence whether by some sudden revolution of nature or by some decree of Providence the distance between different countries becomes less, or whether by the ingenuity of man the means of transmission and intercourse are increased—because we measure things by time. England is not more than half as distant from us, for every purpose of international intercourse, as she was thirty years ago. Well then, the countries are lying side by side. How shall we deal with her and with the other great Commercial States of Europe? Are we to proceed on the principle of reprisals—of hostile or retaliatory legislation?—That has been tried with regard to the tonnage of the United States. We made provisions in favor of our tonnage in carrying on our commerce with England. England made retaliatory provisions to favor her tonnage, and so we came to carry one way and she the other. So far as the direct trade is concerned, we have no complaint to make. It furnishes an example of equality, and proves the danger and folly of retaliatory stipulations. I said to my friends in Baltimore that I believed the time was coming when some arrangement might be made between England and us. I took especial care to say that this must be effected by Congress on this side, and by Parliament on the other—by conditional enactments, as the condition of the trade between the United States and the West India Islands has been since 1832. Congress said to England, 'if you will do so, we will do so; if you will pass such laws, we will pass such other laws.' The negotiations were carried on in England by Mr. McLane under Gen. Jackson on this side and Earl Grey on the other. It was accepted by Congress, who passed the necessary laws on our part and England on hers.

It happened that we made a bad bargain that time; but that is a matter to be considered; I only cite this as authority for treating upon this subject by conditional legislation, and in what I said at Baltimore I intended faithfully to declare that I did not desire that the arrangement should be made by the treaty-making power, the President and Senate, to the exclusion of the more popular branch of Congress; but that it was to be done by Congress and Congressional legislation and acts of Parliament. And in the face of that—I suppose I expressed myself obscurely, though that is a fault I cannot help.) in the face of that, there were men whose sense of justice and whose love of truth did not restrain them from saying that Mr. WEBSTER was in favor of putting the whole matter under the treaty-making power to be settled, under John Tyler and his administration! (cheers.) No! Gentlemen, no, no! I do not, nor will I not answer what an inflated press may say, unless I find that they greatly misrepresent matters seriously affecting my character and usefulness as a public man—which I have ceased to be; yet I am willing, when a suitable occasion offers, to exhibit the truth as it is, and to place myself as I wish to be placed before the judgment of my fellow citizens. (Cheers.)

And now, gentlemen, I say that in the present state of the world, living in peace, and having now lived in peace for a longer period of time, I think, than has ever happened before—for when has there been a time of a longer duration of peace among the powers of Europe?—and living at a time when the spirit of peace prevails, we may well call to mind the words of the Poet who says that 'War is a game, which, if the people were wise, kings would not play at.'

Thank God! the people are wise; and unless in a clear question of national honor or national interests the people will not have war, for the will of crowned heads must yield to the happiness of the people themselves. (Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, I say that in this state of things, it is our duty to look carefully, wisely, but in a spirit of conciliation towards all nations connected with us—to 'compare notes,' as we say, to see in what our interests are identical, to give up nothing, nothing, nothing essential to the protection of our industry and the return for the labor and work of our own hands. But let us consider what may be done to bring about these results—either by mutual legislation or by some more formal arrangement. I believe in the practicability of this: it may not be in my time, but it is sure to happen. The spirit of Christianity—the spirit of our own example in Liberty and Independence, is bringing it on. America acts back upon Europe; and this reaction is tremendous. I say tremendous, it is fearful; but only to those who wish to uphold the old monarchies and dominions of Europe; it is not tremendous but grateful, acceptable, glorious to the great mass of Europe, who believe that government is to some extent the offspring of general consent, and that man, man, the people are entitled to have a direct, powerful and controlling agency in its organization. I know, gentlemen, that these sentiments will prevail—at least I believe it—I believe it. I believe that the interest of peace and virtue, that the great interest of our common religion—I believe that the great body of conscientious men in all countries have in some degree come to control the government—to say to it 'Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed!' (Cheers.)

And I think I see this, gentlemen, in everything and everywhere. I have evidence of it in the cautious policy of England—cautious, cautious, but yielding to the overpowering necessity of the case, yielding to the overpowering dominion of public sentiment. I would not here, or anywhere else, venture to discuss the policy of foreign countries, and I abstain. I leave them, as I hope they will leave us, to look after their own interests, we pursuing ours. Yet there can be no question that the spirit of free inquiry is abroad all over the earth. And this is right: it is as it should be in a Christian age, and in an age unrivalled in knowledge and intelligence, among the great masses of society.

Now, gentlemen, I'm growing garrulous, (cheers and cries of go on), and will bring my remarks to a conclusion. I have the happiness to believe that the tendencies of things are to produce new efforts. I believe that the policy of England is and has been, and will be more and more towards a more and more liberal intercourse, an intercourse favorable to our great interests, to all the interests of the North and Middle and equally favorable to all the friends of the South. It is most certain that within a few months a new and great change has been produced

in our intercourse with England, a very great change. Articles produced in your state are yearly becoming more and more introduced—provisions finding a market in Europe! In the last six months quite a new trade has sprung up between us and England in the article of provisions. While I was in New York I took occasion to inquire of some practical merchants and valued friends how the matter was; and they said, quite to my astonishment, that cargoes of lard, butter, cheese, beef, pork, &c. were shipped to England every day, and that a vessel of the largest class, within the last twenty days, had left New-York loaded entirely with the article of provisions, to the exclusion, as it happened in that case, though I do not mention it as a matter of triumph, of a single pound of cotton or tobacco. This is quite a new trade as everybody knows. Who ever thought, eighteen months ago, that a large cargo, entirely of provisions, would go to a London market? Who does not rejoice and feel the beneficent influence of this upon both nations. The people of England are better fed—the agriculture of New York is better encouraged, and the interests of both are better promoted.

Gentlemen, I will proceed no farther. I say the time has come when we must attend to things, things, things. I say the time has arrived when we must give up the enchantment of names and attend to the great interests of commerce and agriculture—when men must be sunk;—and I am willing to sink, and it will be no great sinking either! (Laughter.)—when things must be regarded, measures regarded, and names disregarded; and though I am not one to give up opinions lightly and without occasion, the time has arrived for practical measures; when we must attend to the things which belong. I had almost said, to our peace—if it did not appear in some sort profane to apply to ordinary affairs words made sacred by a higher meaning; but I will say to the things which belong to our interest. We must be practical—we must look at things—we must see the results of measures and the bearing of every thing that relates to the interests of all classes of people in the United States. For, gentlemen, we may be sure that, however local interests may prevail, however local feelings may prevail, we shall all, when we approach the close of life, regard every thing with satisfaction which we have done under the impulse of a large, broad American feeling; and we shall look with regret on every thing contracted, or personal or local which the interests of individuals may have led us to cherish in our hearts.—(Cheers.) Let us remember, then, gentlemen, that our interests are the common interests of the United States. Let us remember that there is not a man in the Union, from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, from Maine to Mississippi, in whose interest and welfare and political rights we are not concerned. Let us have souls and hearts and minds big enough to embrace the great Empire which God has given us: (cheers) and while conscious that beneath his benignant rule we enjoy distinguished blessings, religious and civil and social, such as have been showered upon no other men on the face of the Earth, let us go boldly on determined, now and forever, living and dying, to be fully American, American altogether!

Mr. WEBSTER sat down amid the reiterated and deafening applause of all present.

The President then announced as a sentiment, 'The health of WILLIAM H. SEWARD, the Friend of the Farmers of the State of New-York.'

To this Gov. Seward replied by saying that he knew no way in which he could better give a proof of the gratitude with which he received the title just bestowed upon him than by giving the confessions of a political agriculturist. They might be of use to the farmers of Western New-York, to whom he was indebted for many distinguished favors; and they should be brief. I had, said he, when I entered upon public office, a farm of 180 acres which cost me about \$10,000; and during the last year of holding my office I realized one of these two things—and owing to some confusion in the accounts of my steward, I am unable to say accurately which, either \$40 or the sum arising from the sale of 40 bushels of potatoes. (Cheers and laughter.) Now as an evidence of my fidelity to the agricultural interest I will say that instead of selling my farm I shall still keep it and adhere to the business; and I hope to succeed as well as, from his own account, the Farmer of Lindenwood has done and to make my farm as valuable as that which has been described in such pitiful terms as lying upon the sandy sea shore of Massachusetts. (Laughter and cheers.)—'Hasten help you.' (Laughter and cheers.)

I insist, gentlemen, that, if there are any reports present, they shall make no report of what I have to say: for it is getting too late to speak under a sense of any such responsibility. (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. President, I have been favored beyond my expectations and hopes—favored beyond any ambition of mine, in life thus far; and now, that being so, I wish to show that, at least in one particular, I deserve the respect and kindness which have been extended to me by my fellow citizens of Western New-York. I wish to show you all that I am not presumptuous enough to attempt to act an antipiece, which could at best prove not even a respectable farce, after the great drama which has been enacted here to-night; and therefore ask of the reporters, as a special favor, that they will not set down any speech of mine in their books.

There is no living intellect which I honor and respect more highly than that which has beamed out with such full effulgence to-night; and if he can excuse or overlook the discourtesy, of which I am about to bring complaint and to lay the fault at the door of his native land, I will then presume, in conclusion, to give a sentiment, which, I am sure, will meet with a full and hearty response.

Ten years ago I met with a great indignity from the people of New-England; and I shall go on and state it, for the purpose of seeing if my friend and guest will venture to justify, palliate or excuse it. I was at that time invited to attend a New-England dinner, given by natives of New-England, in the City of New-York. The dinner came on rather late, and when I entered the room there was a sudden shout, and a clamor of voices and a call upon me to make a speech. Well, I commenced a speech—and I have no doubt it would have been a very excellent speech, if I had been allowed to bring it to a respectable conclusion. I began in a very solemn and sincere manner to say that I was greatly surprised at such a reception; that I knew of nothing which entitled me to it; that I was not a native of New-England; that I had never but once set foot upon New-England soil; and that there was no New-England blood in my veins. Thus far had I advanced, when I was greeted with a universal rising from every part of the tables—which we enlarged than these—and by a general shout of 'You lie! you lie! you lie!' (Cheers and laughter.) 'Good! Good! Good!' said Mr. WEBSTER, which renewed and increased both the laughter and applause.

Now, then, if my friend—if our distinguished friend from Massachusetts will only have the hardihood to avow that this was fair on the part of New-England, and to back them in it—and I believe he does, (O! I'll do it—I'll do it! said Mr. WEBSTER, amid shouts of laughter.) I shall ask of you to take a pledge with me—and, while we will receive and consider, with the respect with which we always receive and consider whatever falls from his lips, and will treasure with greater and sincerer regard than ever he can conceive, every word with which he has favored us to-night—I ask you to drink with me standing, as a proof of the respect we entertain for one of the most gifted, enlightened and honored statesmen of

The Reporter begs pardon for not regarding this injunction; but he was under too strong an obligation to set forth truly and fully all that might be said and done, to allow him to take 'any such responsibility.'

the age. 'HEALTH, PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS TO DANIEL WEBSTER.'

This was received with nine deafening cheers and long continued applause. After this had ceased Mr. WEBSTER rose and said—

Gentlemen—With the gentleman who has just now addressed you, and who has repeatedly been elected to preside over the councils of the great State of New York, it has been my fortune to have only a general and political acquaintance. I am proud of his respect and regard. I wish him well; and I have to say to him, that, whenever he shall appear among the people of New-England, assembled on any occasion like this, his character, his integrity, his patriotism, his Americanism will arouse a feeling which will shake the roof of the house where the people shall gather together. (Deafening and repeated applause.) I give you, said Mr. WEBSTER, advancing towards Gov. SEWARD and extending to him his hand which was heartily shaken across the table, I give you the right hand of American fellowship! May this great Empire State, and our New-England Confederacy, ever value and regard the sentiments and character of WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

This was accompanied and followed by the most enthusiastic applause. Those alone who are familiar with the dignified bearing of Mr. WEBSTER's personal manner on such occasions, can form even the faintest notion of the thrilling effect of this most interesting scene.

Mr. KNOTT, one of the Vice Presidents of the Society, then proposed the Health of the Chairman of one of the important Committees—Mr. GOWEN, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. GOWEN, in reply, spoke of the long and difficult journey he had performed for the purpose of attending this Fair,—of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society, with which he was connected, and pronounced a high eulogium upon the late and Judge PETERS, who, he said, shed a lustre upon every thing he did. 'That he did,' that he did,' said Mr. WEBSTER. He spoke of the emotions excited in his mind by what he had seen of the unbounded prosperity of the great State of New-York. He was forced, he said, to contrast its condition with that of his own state and spoke of the neglect in Pennsylvania of her agricultural interests, of the calamitous legislation by which she was afflicted, of the great debts she had incurred, and of the deep disaster in which she appears to be sunk. 'O! you'll get out of it—you'll get out of it,' said Mr. WEBSTER. We are thought to be neither able nor willing to pay our debt. (God knows you are, both able and willing, said Mr. WEBSTER.) We are both of us government would let us do it.—(That's it—that's it, said Mr. Webster.) On our whole Statute book there is not a single act which favors the interests of Agriculture. Mr. GOWEN spoke somewhat farther of the general causes of the embarrassments of Pennsylvania, of the ruinous taxes which were imposed upon her citizens, while neither principal nor interest of her great debt was paid, of the evils of the excessive party spirit which governed her councils, and concluded by offering the following toast:

THE EMPIRE STATE—New-York: Let the brightest flower in her chaplet ever be culled by the hand of Agriculture!

Mr. WEBSTER, after this toast had been given and received with loud applause, rose and said:

May I be permitted, gentlemen, to occupy your attention for a few moments again—or have I already exhausted your patience? (Loud cries of 'no,' 'no,' 'go on,' 'go on.') I am not entitled to be heard here to any great extent; (cries of 'yes you are,' 'we're always glad to hear you,' &c.) but the suggestions of the gentleman from Pennsylvania have called my mind to a topic, in my judgment, of overwhelming importance to the honor and credit of our common country.—Mr. President and gentlemen—what is the credit and character of this glorious country to which we all belong, abroad? We are rich; we are powerful; we have all the means of accomplishing whatever virtuous human desire can embrace. But what is our credit? And I am not one of those who are disposed to complain of or to stigmatize in any way the efforts of the States of this great Union, who have sought for funds abroad to carry on their enterprises and improvements which their sense of utility has projected. On the contrary, I think that the circumstances of the times and the necessities of the case, may justify at least to a considerable extent, the engagements into which some of the States, especially the Western States, have entered abroad. Among those which have thus justifiably become involved is the State of Pennsylvania, the richest State in the Union, in my judgment—perhaps I ought to except New-York—but taking her mineral, commercial and agricultural facilities into consideration, I do not know, on the face of the Earth, excepting England, a richer State than the State of Pennsylvania. (Take off her debt,' said Governor SEWARD.) My friend Governor SEWARD says 'take off her debt.' Her debt—her debt?—What can be the debt of a State like Pennsylvania, that she should not be able to pay it—that she cannot pay it if she will but take from her pocket the money that she has in it?—England's debt is engrained upon her very soil: she is bound down to the very earth by it; and it will affect England and English men, to the fifth generation. But the debt of Pennsylvania—the debt of Illinois—the debt of any State in this Union, amounts not to a sixpence in comparison. (Cheers.) Let us be Americans—but let us avoid, as we despise, the character of an acknowledged insolvent community. (Cheers.) What importance is it what other nations say of us—or what they think of us—if they can nevertheless say you don't pay your debts! (Loud applause.)—Now, gentlemen, I belong to Massachusetts—but if I belonged to a deeply indebted State—Pd hold these ten fingers to their stumps, Pd hold plough, Pd drive plough, Pd do both, before it should be said of the State to which I belonged, that she did not pay her debts! (Loud cheers.) That's the true principle—let us act upon it, (cheers) let us 'go it' to its full extent! (Deafening applause.) If it costs us our comforts, let us sacrifice our comforts; if it costs us our farms, let us mortgage our farms. But don't let it be said by the proud capitalists of England, 'you don't pay your debts.' You, Republican Governments, don't pay your debts. Let us say to them 'we will pay them,' we will pay them to the uttermost farthing.' That's my firm conviction of what we ought to do. That's my opinion, and waters can't drown—fire can't burn it out of me. (Loud applause.) If America owes a debt, let her pay it—let her pay it! (Deafening cheers.) What I have is ready for the sacrifice. At any rate, and at any sacrifice, don't let it be said on the Exchanges of London or Paris, don't let it be said in any one of the proud monarchies of Europe—America owes, and can't, or won't pay.—God forbid! (Cheers.) Let us pay—let us pay! Long continued and loud applause. Let us say to them 'produce your bond and take your money, principal and interest. Add it all up, and take your money. (Applause.) Let us say to them—'we are not your slaves: we are not paupers: we will not be your debtors: we will pay: produce your bond—here is your money—TAKE IT!' (This was followed by repeated and deafening cheers.) And until that is done, my friends, you and I cannot feel as if we could draw a free breath. I don't want to be indebted to the capitalists of Europe. If we owe them anything let them produce their bill. If my professional earnings are of any worth, if they are wanted,—if my farm is wanted, if the conveniences of life for myself, for my wife and children are wanted, so far as I am concerned, so far as America is concerned, come and take them! (Cheers.) That's the right ground to take, and let us take it. In the North and South, in the East and West, if there live any who are descended from the Fathers of the Revolution, any in whose veins runs a drop of their blood, and in

whose hearts lives a particle of their proud spirit, let them rise up, and say that if we owe Europe, Europe shall be paid. (Loud and repeated cheers.) I wish to breathe the breath of an independent man. A citizen of a proud and honored country, I abhor the idea, that my daily happiness is to be marred by the consciousness that any thing disgraceful hangs on the country or any part of it. Let us, gentlemen, be proud of our country, but let us preserve for that country the character of a just and a debt-paying nation. Let it never be said amongst the nations of Europe that the United States of America—the nation that had its birth in the glorious scenes of '76—the country of Washington—the example and great type of all modern Republics, cannot or will not pay its debts!

Mr. WEBSTER sat down amid the loud and most enthusiastic applause of the assembly, after which were given three deep and sepulchral groans for Repudiation.

Mr. GOWEN said that when he adverted to the debt of Pennsylvania he did it in no spirit of despondency. Pennsylvania will pay her debts—she will pay them, but she must first sink her party spirit and break up her party discipline.—Give us a legislature of practical men—give us a legislature made up of farmers, such as have attended this great meeting, and my word for it she will in less than ten years have paid every item of her oppressive debt.

There was much more said and and done of interest and importance; but we have already exhausted all the room in our paper to-day and must postpone the conclusion.

## THE TRIBUNE.

MONDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 25.

FOR PRESIDENT.  
**HENRY CLAY,**  
OF KENTUCKY.

THE EVENING TRIBUNE

Will be published This Day at 2 o'clock.

- It will contain in addition to the matter of the Morning paper, 1. The News received by the Morning Mail; 2. A summary report of the MARKETS, including Stocks, from the day's sales up to 1 o'clock, P. M. 3. The ARRIVALS at our Hotels for the day.

Advertisements omitted to-day will appear to-morrow morning.

Extra copies of this day's Tribune may be obtained at the desk. Price two cents for a single copy. They may be had in wrappers ready for mailing at the same price, and by the hundred at a discount.

We entirely surrender our columns to-day, and very willingly, to a full report of the doings at the great State Agricultural Fair just held at Rochester. It was one of the most interesting occasions of the kind we have ever attended; and the record of its proceedings, which fills our paper to-day, will be found abundantly to repay a careful perusal. The Speech of DANIEL WEBSTER, which occupies nearly six columns, is one of the most interesting and powerful he has recently made. He discusses in an able and profoundly philosophic manner the relation of the Tariff to the Agricultural Interests of every portion of this great nation. It is one of the ablest arguments in support of the Tariff we have lately met, and we commend it to the careful attention of all who have the real welfare of the country at heart. It places the argument on a broad and immovable foundation, and will be read with interest in every part of the Union. His other speech upon Repudiation will attract attention: it is a most vigorous and decided protest against this infamous tendency to repudiate their debts which has been manifested in some of the States. The reports in every respect are full and accurate.

The Whigs of the 11d District, Mich. held a Convention at Kalamazoo on the 14th inst. and nominated JOSEPH R. WILLIAMS, of St. Joseph Co. for Congress.

Governor CLEVELAND, of Connecticut, has arrived in town, and taken lodgings at Howard's.

POWDER PLOT AT LA FAYETTE.—On the night of the 19th an attempt was made to blow up the house of Mr. John Wood of Somersworth, N. H. who had become obnoxious to a portion of the moral inhabitants of that place, in consequence of his having prosecuted sundry of them for a violation of the License Laws. He was also a violent abolitionist. About 12 o'clock an explosion took place which aroused the whole village, the Millerites thinking it was 'the last trump.' On examination it was found that a keg of powder had been placed under one wing of the building, to which a slow match was attached.

A great excitement prevails in the town and a reward has been offered for the apprehension of the villains, but they have not yet been discovered. One of Mr. Wood's children was injured by broken glass, but excepting this, the family escaped almost by a miracle.

Mr. Wood and his family have taken lodgings at a tavern in the village, and do not dare to return to their house to reside until the excitement shall have passed away.

MURDER OF A REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER.—The Knoxville, Tenn. Register gives the particulars of the barbarous murder of Mr. John Sutton, of Meigs Co. a soldier of the Revolution. He had visited Knoxville to obtain his pension money, it being his custom to perform the trip every six months, and having received from the Pension Agent the amount to which he was entitled, he left town on horseback at about one or two o'clock in the day, on his way home.

About 4 o'clock he was found six miles from Knoxville, bruised and mangled in a horrible manner, and almost lifeless. All efforts to resuscitate him proved unavailing, and he died about midnight, without having been able to articulate distinctly or give any clue whereby the depraved wretch who murdered him might be detected. He was about 50 years old, and in good health, and had been unusually active and sprightly for his advanced age.

This black crime was perpetrated for the paltry sum of about thirty-three dollars!

FRAUD.—A man named William Morton, went on Saturday morning to the leather store of F. Krauff, No. 83 Gold-street, and selecting some skins, amounting to \$11, ordered them to be sent to the corner of Church and Fulton-streets, where he said he had left a \$20 to pay for them. He also requested that to save trouble, the person who took the skins to the place should be furnished with \$9 in change. A boy was accordingly sent with the skins, and on the way was met by Morton, who told the boy to give him the \$9, which he did, and Morton left. The boy took the skins to the place and ascertained that no \$20 bill had been left and that Morton was unknown there. It only remains to say that Morton has not since been found.

SANTE FE TRADE.—The Western Exposition held at Jackson, Texas, Mo., of the 7th &c.—The last of the traders of which we have any knowledge at present, started a few days since for Santa Fe. There were some fifteen or twenty wagons in the company. We may soon expect the return of some of our own citizens who went to Santa Fe in the early part of the season, when we shall have accounts in full of the workings and doings of men and things in that country—besides a full history of the late Texan expedition, and its effects upon the trade from this to that country by the overland route.

INDIAN COUNCIL.—The Arkansas Intelligencer of the 24 inst. says:—'We learn that a number of Delaware, Shawnee, Kickapoo and Caddo had left the vicinity of Fort Washita on the 13th ult., for the great Prairie Council which is to be held at Fort Smith, about 160 miles above the mouth of the False Washita. The Indians expect President Houston to be present. The Camanches have consented to meet him, although they say they will never make peace with Texas.'